

PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

No. 1,281

London, January 13, 1961

SIXPENCE

US Air Express
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War resisters now in Arizona

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The most striking lesson of
the recent French explosion
in the Sahara

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First plebiscite on A-weapons

From Gerard Daechsel

Zurich

MARCH ACROSS THE WORLD

A GROUP OF U.S. WAR RESISTERS ARRIVED IN PHOENIX, ARIZONA, ON TUESDAY AFTER WALKING NEARLY 1,000 MILES ON A JOURNEY FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO MOSCOW.

The Transcontinental Walk for Peace, sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Non-violent Action in an effort to promote disarmament, is expected to cover 6,500 miles before arriving at the Soviet capital next August.

The walkers started out on December 1 and have demonstrated against the arms race at military bases and public meetings on a winding journey down the West coast.

The purpose of the walk is to bring the message of unilateral disarmament and non-violence to as wide an audience as possible, including Communist

countries. The group is urging people of all nations to call on their Governments to be the first to disarm, without awaiting international agreements.

Response to the walkers is reported to be "beyond expectation." Many people have joined the group in picketing and leafleting activities and walking for brief periods.

The team averages about 25 miles a day and has another 2,000 miles before reaching Chicago. The Committee is sponsoring a core of ten

walkers to gain supporters, and between Chicago and New York mass participation will be encouraged.

While walking 1,500 miles across Europe the team will be joined by peace organisations in demonstrations and other anti-war activities. If they are not permitted to enter any nation legally, the team is committed in principle to trespass illegally. Previous experience in civil disobedience is a prime condition for membership of the European phase.

Who murdered this village?

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THE first and probably only national plebiscite in the world on whether or not to have nuclear weapons will be held in 1961 by Switzerland unless it violates the Constitution.

This is the direct result of work by the Swiss movement against atomic armaments (Schweizerische Bewegung Gegen Atomare Aufrüstung) which two years ago collected 73,000 signatures on a petition requesting a plebiscite.

The Swiss Constitution provides that a plebiscite must be held when requested by at least 50,000 qualified voters. But only males of 20 years and over can vote, and those refusing military service can be disqualified from voting. Such a referendum must be held within three years of the receipt of the petition.

Opposition

Organised opposition to nuclear weapons has so far been slight, but a campaign will probably get into full swing when the Government announces, 13 weeks in advance, the date of the plebiscite. About one third of some 350 clergy who serve the Swiss Army as part-time chaplains have declared themselves opposed. But all political Parties support the Government policy, which is to give the Army atomic weapons as soon as possible.

If it obtains more than 50 per cent of the total vote, and a 50 per cent majority in more than half the cantons, the Government will be free to try to get uranium with no restrictions "for peaceful purposes only." The plutonium produced as a by-product from Switzerland's only reactor, at Wuerlingen/Ag, is under restriction by the United States which supplies the uranium.

Who murdered this village?



The culprit can be found on page five, where Austin Underwood writes about the village that died an unnatural death 18 years ago—and what is going to be done about it. Photo: Austin Underwood.

PEACE NEWS

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MEETINGS

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"NATURE CURE IN A NUTSHELL," Tom Moule (of Champneys, Tring). Monday, January 16, Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society meets third Monday each month. Details: 85 Stoneleigh Rd., Ilford.

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MEET INTERESTING PEOPLE through informal

A constructive policy for UN in the Congo

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



SOME of my good Labour colleagues, as well as anxious Tory backbenchers, have come to me worried by the threat of the Casablanca Summit Conference of seven African States to withdraw troops from the United Nations force in the Congo and to establish an independent African command. I am told that the UN officials in the Congo were surprised and startled.

They should not have been. They have had plenty of warning. All Africa, except the States of the French Community, have been shocked by the inaction of the United Nations over the deposition of the elected Government and the imprisonment of its Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba. Africa has been shocked by the recognition given to Colonel Mobutu and his troops who suspended Parliament and usurped its authority.

We must never forget that it was M. Lumumba's Government which asked the United Nations force to enter the Congo and that the original instruction from the General Assembly was to give full support to that Government.

Russian help

There is a feeling among Africans that America, France and Britain turned against M. Lumumba because at one point he asked for Russian help. The UN force was invited to go to the Congo to turn out the Belgian troops. It has remained in the Congo to support the Belgian-backed Mobutu.

The constitutional excuse is the authority of M. Kasavubu as President. He dismissed M. Lumumba from the Premiership. But there has never been a subsequent meeting of the Parliament to endorse his action or to appoint a new Government. M. Kasavubu has been acting as a dictator with Col. Mobutu's troops behind him.

One must recognise the difficulties of Mr. Hammarskjöld. At first he was instructed by the United Nations not to intervene in the internal affairs of the Congo.

ference to settle the relationship of the regions to the centre.

It is to this constructive policy that the United Nations should turn. There are grounds for hope. The UN Conciliation Commission is in the Congo and is seeking a round-table discussion between the conflicting political leaders. This would involve the release of M. Lumumba. The ex-French States in conference at Brazzaville have already met the Congo leaders and, although M. Lumumba could not be present, his most influential supporter attended.

If the West came out strongly for the release of M. Lumumba, the reassembly of Parliament, and its authority to determine the character of the government, the situation could be saved. Otherwise there is great danger that the Congo will deteriorate not only to intensified civil war but to an African and colonialist war with the Power blocs strengthening the two sides in the background.

No sensible African wants that. President Nkrumah, who was at Casablanca, has consistently supported United Nations presence in the Congo because he wants to keep the "Cold War" (increasingly a misleading term) out of Africa.

But if this disaster is to be avoided, the United Nations, and particularly the Powers which recognised M. Kasavubu, must act unmistakably for the re-establishment of democracy in the Congo.

We must face another implication of the Casablanca conference. It reflected the

emergence of three distinct groupings among African States. Seven were represented: Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Libya, and the Algerian Provisional Government (Asian Ceylon had an observer). This is the Left Group.

The Right Group is composed of the eleven States of the French Community, thinly populated but covering a wide territory in West and Equatorial Africa.

There is a Central Group which was not represented either at Brazzaville or Casablanca. It includes Nigeria (the most populous State in Africa), Tunisia, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Liberia.

Common action

It was inevitable, of course, that as African States evolved from different conditions there should be different attitudes. But on fundamental issues, such as political freedom and racial equality, there is agreement, and it will be disappointing if common action cannot be followed in this wide sphere.

Casablanca proposed the establishment of a Consultative Assembly for Africa. This is a promising idea. It would encourage solidarity and could be the scene where differences are discussed, the new problems of expanding independent Africa faced, and action planned in the area of unity. The sooner all Africa gets together the better.

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DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, January 13

LONDON, W.3: 7.45 p.m. Acton Town Hall. "Save Britain from Suicide." Speakers: Canon Stanley Evans, John Horner, Peter Howell. Chis-

Cafe, Five Ways. Douglas Clark: Tax Refusal. PPU and CND, joint mtg.

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GRANGE-OVER-SANDS: 3 p.m. Parish Hall, Kent's Bank Rd. Group monthly meeting: "Practicalities of Peace." Speaker: Councillor F. R. McManus. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. All "Old Freundschaftsheimers"

KESKID: visit the holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian Society, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort and friendly atmosphere. Tel. 508 or write—Mr. and Mrs. Norman Lusby.

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BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsgagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1., and 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist monthly. 16s. a year post free from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

SARVODAYA—monthly magazine of the Bhoo-dan Movement in India may be obtained from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, at 12s yearly, or 1s. (post 2d.) each issue.

SCIENTISTS IN BLUNDERLAND: 44 pages post free. REALIST, 36 Lyme St., London, N.W.1.

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One must recognise the difficulties of Mr. Hammarskjöld. At first he was instructed by the United Nations not to intervene in the internal affairs of the Congo. Then, on the initiative of America, the UN intervened itself by recognising M. Kasavubu as the representative of the Congo.

A disturbing fact for Africa is that America carried its view in the General Assembly with the help of the eleven African states which belong to the French Community. This arose partly from the fact that these States, still very much under French influence, generally endorse the policies of the West. It is partly due to a reason directly related to Africa itself.

New Kingdom

M. Kasavubu is the leader of a tribe which not only dominates Leopoldville and the territory to the coast, but stretches, on the one side, across the river Congo into Brazzaville and the French Congo, and, on the other, into Portuguese Angola. The Prime Minister of the French Congo shares M. Kasavubu's aim to establish a new Kingdom based on this tribe.

For this reason M. Kasavubu has always opposed M. Lumumba's purpose of a unified Congo. He has wanted a federation with regional tribal autonomy. This conception fits in with the claims of the Belgian-backed M. Tshombe in Katanga, and consequently the old colonialist elements, in the Congo and outside, have given M. Kasavubu endorsement.

I think a federal constitution will prove necessary in the Congo; nevertheless, there can be no doubt that every democrat must support the Casablanca demand for the release of M. Lumumba from prison, the re-assembly of Parliament, the recognition of the democratically-appointed Government, and the dismissal of M. Mobutu. This could be followed by a constitutional con-

ference which recognised M. Kasavubu, must act unmistakably for the re-establishment of democracy in the Congo.

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Saturday, January 14

BIRMINGHAM: 3-8 p.m. B'ham Settlement, Summer Lane. West Midlands Area PPU annual party. All pacifists and sympathisers welcome. Adults 2s., children free.

HASTINGS: 6 p.m. Tinkers Dell, Crowhurst La., Battle. New Year Party. Speaker: Stuart Morris. Chair: Mary Wray. PPU.

Sunday, January 15

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 p.m. IVS Centre, 72 Oakley Sq. Annual general meeting. IVS.

LONDON, W.C.1: 4 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Raymond Robinson, B.A. "Problems of a Probation Officer." Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

Monday, January 16

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd. Mtg. of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU, and will meet every third Mon. of month throughout 1961.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. The Nature of Propaganda "Psychological Factors of Peace and War." CND Education for Peace.

LONDON, W.C.1: 5.30 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Teachers Committee for Nuclear Disarmament. "Orientation of school curriculum, basis of discipline—teachers' professional responsibility." CND Education for Peace.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. "A Western Pacifist looks at India" Stuart Morris. 6 p.m. refreshments. Central London PPU.

Tuesday, January 17

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. The Library, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. "Conway Discussions." Public cordially invited. South Place Ethical Society. H. L. Beales, M.A.: "The New U.S. President Takes Office."

Wednesday, January 18

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St. "First Steps to Peace," David Lane and Myrtle Solomon. Edmonton PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. CND Study Groups—Positive Neutralism. "Neutralist Intervention in Foreign Policy."

LONDON, W.C.1: 1 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "A Jewish Pacifist in Israel": Myrtle Solomon. Refreshments from 12.15. If attending notify WILPF, 29 Great James St., W.C.1.

Thursday, January 19

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m. F.M.H., Hunter St. "Report Officers Conference" Freda Collins. Central Group AGM. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Ted Redhead, MP: "Where Do We Go Now?" E.10 and E.11 PPU.

LONDON, E.C.3: 12.15-1.15 p.m. Vestry of St. Michael's Church, Cornhill. Peace Forum. Questions and Answers to Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Friday, January 20

LEEDS: 8.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting Ho., Carlton Hill (behind BBC, Woodhouse La.). Film: "Deadly the Harvest." International Social.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7.30 p.m. Harrington's

action planned in the area of unity. The sooner all Africa gets together the better.

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LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. All "Old Freundschaftsheimer" and others interested in voluntary peace service are invited to help in consultation on proposals for future work of Friendship House, Buckeburg, Germany.

WARRINGTON, Lancs.: 3 p.m. F.M.H. Buttermarket St. Speaker: Wilfred Wellock. North West Area AGM. PPU.

Sunday, January 22

IMBER, Wilts.: 2.30 p.m. Gores Cross, Nr. West Lavington. Pilgrimage to Imber to challenge War Dept.'s closure of roads. Nearest railway stn. West Lavington. On bus route Salisbury-Bath (Bath Tramways). Details: Austin Underwood, 4 Earls Rd., Amesbury. (Amesbury 3001.)

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd. Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship. L. A. Pavitt, MP: "Visit to Russia."

Tuesday, January 24

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 124 Fellows Rd., Hampstead CND supporters' meeting: "A Matter of Life and Death." Speaker: Michael Barclay.

Wednesday, January 25

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. CND Study Groups: "Neutralism and the United Nations."

Thursday, January 26

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 2.30 p.m. Bishop Partridge Hall, Church Ho., Westminster. "The needs of families and children in countries assisted by UNICEF." Speaker: Miss G. Chesters. UNICEF.

Saturday, January 28

ST. LEONARD'S-ON-SEA: 3.30 p.m. 71 Norman Rd. AGM South East Area PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. 143 Lupton Rd., Sheffield 8. Evening of colour slides. Refreshments. Admission 2s. 6d.

Tuesday, January 31

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Unusual business—to discuss Pacifist Fortnight with Eileen Fletcher. All members needed. London Area PPU.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. "Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

By Sybil Morrison

Pacifist rock

And when I talk of war, I do not mean a small war, here or there, but a big war.
—Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, January 7.

LAOS, The Congo, Belgium, Algeria, Central Africa, South Africa, Egypt, Israel, these names spell conflicts, many of them violent, leading possibly to situations in which war might be inevitable, simply because that method is still the final arbiter in the minds of both governments and peoples.

For the pacifist the answer cannot be, as for these others: "We will defend our frontiers;" "We will defend our king and his ministers;" "We will fight on this side;" "We will fight on that side," simply because their basic moral objection to the use of war as a method prevents it. Their conviction that there must always be another way is not shaken by the continual threats to peace; in fact, these unending threats merely strengthen their belief that no solution has been found, nor will be found, by the use of these methods.

Naturally, pacifists will support any and every effort at negotiation, and all attempts made to lessen tension; nevertheless, there can be no condoning, even though there may well be understanding, of the use of violence as a means towards any kind of settlement.

Perhaps the hardest task of all for the pacifist is to remain silent when it would be so much less frustrating to offer at least an opinion as to a pacifist solution. The fact, however, is that in a world ready, "cap a pie," for war, a pacifist blue print is neither feasible nor available.

This, of course, is not an acceptable answer to the many non-pacifists, some who want to prove that pacifism is wrong and mistaken, and some who want to be convinced that there is another way than war; nevertheless, where both sides are armed and convinced that only arms can defend them, there is no pacifist solution; these people must be persuaded, and perhaps the only effective persuasion is by example.

WAR DEBATED IN THE SCOTSMAN

THE correspondence columns of *The Scotsman* have for three weeks been dominated by points of view arising from the talks on "The Gospel and the Bomb" at St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

"Signs of a failure to grasp fundamentals have emerged during the series of lectures..." wrote William Kay. And these signs certainly emerged during the exchange of letters.

For example, was Pilate a pacifist? This unexpected question was raised by Rev. J. S. Malloch, who suggested that Pilate's action at Christ's trial was pacifist in that, having the power to restrain evil he found it more convenient for the sake of peace not to do so.

One other Scriptural reference was made by "Mattathias," who recalled the disastrous pacifist attitude of his namesake in I Maccabees 2. After the disaster Mattathias decides to make his duty towards God subject to expediency. (Since the human race has long made a practice of this, there seems little point holding it up as an example.) Here are a few key paragraphs quoted from other letters:

"Christ was not unaware of the necessity for fighting evil. Did he not say 'I come not to bring peace but a sword'?" (F. Gordon Harper.)

"What marks out Christ's teaching from all other religions is that He believed and taught that evil could be overcome with good, because the power of God—the supreme power in the universe—was behind good and would support us in any struggle against evil." (John L. Kinloch.)

"Altogether our policies... have been

Africa: concern of young people

MR. MACLEOD, the Colonial Secretary, submitted to a recent London audience of 3,000 young people "four illusions" on Africa:

- That people would stop asking for political advancement if education, health and housing were improved.

- That economic arguments were

fouled by dependence on nuclear war policies. Rival jockeying for bases has come first, justice and decency a long second." (Mary M. Simpson.)

"During 30 years residence in India I saw repeated instances of non-violent resistance... Almost without exception these ended in violence and bloodshed." (J. H. Hendrie.)

"That Church leaders should be endeavouring to rouse professing Christians to consider the 'major problem of our time' in the light of the Christian precept to love God and one's neighbour can hardly be described as a 'deplorable situation.'" (Mrs. C. M. Woolf.)

NAIVETE OR TRUST?

"... Politicians must be told that instead of trying to gain political capital for a faction of their party by their ecclesiastical 'Me too-ism' they should be giving political expression to the view of the majority of their Party inside the House." (Ian MacInnes.)

"Our failure with Hitler was not only that we possessed no adequate deterrent, but that we were naïve enough to think he wished a genuine peace. The same misjudgment motivates the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Why else do you think the full weight of Communist propaganda in Britain is behind this movement?" (N. P. D. Green-Price.)

"It is the Communist Powers, with Russia at their head, that alone perpetuate the tensions that prevent a return to lasting peace." (H. W. Henderson.)

"Do we really trust Jesus, or not? ... Heaven forbid that we should give up our allegiance to Jesus just to spite the Labour Party!" (Rev. Brian C. Casebow.)

"Nothing in St. Giles' or in your columns has disproved the scientific facts put forward by Dr. Sang that there is actually no defence against nuclear war and that there are already enough bombs in existence to kill the world's population ten times over... How sad it is then that some of our own Churchmen still speak with the worldly voice of political compromise and expedi-

Are you insured?



"PITY the sorrows of a poor old man, whose trembling limbs have brought him to your door. And from the prayer of want or plaint of woe, O never, never turn away thine ear."

Barring the trembling limbs, these moving words from "The Beggar's Petition" aptly describe me at this moment.

For begging is my present vocation. I say it without shame, for it is a time-honoured profession. Throughout the ages beggars have been regarded as essential to the spiritual welfare of society. For they provide other people with a convenient means to salvation by giving to the poor.

Since the State started on the large-scale relief of destitution, however, the begging situation has seriously deteriorated.

The position was well summed up a short time ago by Dr. Mageean, Bishop of Down and Connor, who said the Welfare Acts denied ordinary people the opportunity of exercising Christian charity.

In other words, the poor we must have always with us, to give better-off people a chance of acquiring merit.

Hitherto, even the richest people have been able to insure themselves against post-mortem immersion in the Brimstone Lake by bequeathing a fraction of their surplus booty to charitable institutions. It's the oldest known form of fire insurance.

But if the State does our good deeds for us, how can we qualify for eternal bliss? This is a problem to which hasty social reformers have given far too little consideration.

Lacking a sufficient number of supplicants for their alms, we shall have crowds of respectable citizens causing an immovable traffic jam on the wrong side of the needle's-eye bottleneck.

I am therefore happy to inform our readers that a few poor are still with them, and that, by sparing a few coppers for the PN Fund, they will not only be staking a claim in the Elysian Fields, but will be rewarded here and now by being able to continue reading this excellent paper.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Dec. 30: £207 16s.

Perhaps the hardest task of all for the pacifist is to remain silent when it would be so much less frustrating to offer at least an opinion as to a pacifist solution. The fact, however, is that in a world ready, "cap a pie," for war, a pacifist blue print is neither feasible nor available.

This, of course, is not an acceptable answer to the many non-pacifists, some who want to prove that pacifism is wrong and mistaken, and some who want to be convinced that there is another way than war; nevertheless, where both sides are armed and convinced that only arms can defend them, there is no pacifist solution; these people must be persuaded, and perhaps the only effective persuasion is by example.



To say to Israel, for instance, that the pacifist solution is unilateral total disarmament when there is no doubt that Egypt would invade and endeavour to carry out their threat of driving every Israeli into the sea, is no solution to a Jew who believes he has an absolute moral right to defend his national home by force of arms.

To say to the warring tribes in the Congo that one side or the other must lay down its arms is to invite the retort that the wrong side will be in power, and that, naturally, such a thing will not be allowed to happen. To tell others that they should allow themselves to be massacred because pacifists believe they should not protect themselves by force is neither practical nor moral.

Nevertheless, if the abolition of war is ever to be achieved pacifists must find the answers, and the only way to do that effectively is to begin at home. No other government is likely to listen to British pacifists so long as they have been unable to convince their own people and their own Government.

It is clear that people in this country are not faced with the terrible dilemmas that exist for nationals in many other countries in the world today, where war conditions prevail, and violence and coercion are freely used; and so the responsibility is laid upon pacifists here of persuading, not Israel, not Belgium, not Algeria or the Congo, but ordinary British people that pacifism is a real solution, both as a policy and a faith, and that it must begin at home.

It sometimes seems as though pacifist organisations, unable to find pacifist solutions for the many violent manifestations in the world, were submerged by events and therefore ineffective, whereas, in fact, so long as pacifism remains the rock which faith and confidence have created, it will still be standing as a refuge and a starting point when the waters of tempest and trouble recede. From the vantage point of that rock let us set out to put our own house in order.

"Altogether our policies . . . have been

Africa: concern of young people

MR. MACLEOD, the Colonial Secretary, submitted to a recent London audience of 3,000 young people "four illusions" on Africa:

- That people would stop asking for political advancement if education, health and housing were improved.
- That economic arguments were decisive.
- That what suited an old established parliamentary democracy was necessarily good for export.
- That a small minority could govern a country more efficiently than the majority of its people.

These were warnings to prevent clouding of thought among the sixth-formers gathered for the conference "Something New Out of Africa," organised during the holidays by the Council for Education in World Citizenship. The speakers at the conference were vigorously questioned by the young people, who showed an intelligent curiosity concerning politics and race relations, and tended to be less interested in folk lore and customs.

When Prof. Max Gluckman, the anthropologist, said, "No man is too poor, too illiterate, or too ignorant to be given the vote" the audience cheered loudly.

The Colonial Secretary told them that he hoped to learn from their deliberations, and promised to study the conference reports.

Briefly

A Conservative Group in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is being proposed. All Tory Campaigners are asked to contact Roy Hewitt (The Lodge, Cogenhowe, Northants), who is proposing to stand for Parliament in his local constituency as an Independent Conservative with a CND platform.

Jack Hooker, an active Surrey member of the Peace Pledge Union from its' early days, died on December 18 at the age of 91. He was "a great worker for peace in the Surrey area, where he was much loved," writes Dorothy Bell.

"It is the Communist Powers, with Russia at their head, that alone perpetuate the tensions that prevent a return to lasting peace." (H. W. Henderson.)

"Do we really trust Jesus, or not? . . . Heaven forbid that we should give up our allegiance to Jesus just to spite the Labour Party!" (Rev. Brian C. Casebow.)

"Nothing in St. Giles' or in your columns has disproved the scientific facts put forward by Dr. Sang that there is actually no defence against nuclear war and that there are already enough bombs in existence to kill the world's population ten times over . . . How sad it is then that some of our own Churchmen still speak with the worldly voice of political compromise and expediency when the world's need for an absolute moral integrity is so great?" (Mary Martin.)

"Thank God we have men like Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Butler, Mr. Macleod and others forming the policies of our country—such men, churchmen, using their abilities and experience, yet with humility and deep faith leaving to and believing in the power of God to carry out his purpose for the human race." (A. G. Hossick.)

"The Bishop (of Edinburgh) made a very practical suggestion when he called on us to restore conscription and so to stop our absolute reliance on atomic weapons." (M. O. N. Campbell.)

SWORD OR CROSS?

"There is no Christian answer to our present problems except the witness of those walking the way of pain and shame with Christ, renouncing all, daring all, even a cross—and where are they?" (Rev. J. G. Grant Fleming.)

Somewhere along the line the phrase "Better Red than dead" crept in. Though it was not put forward as a pacifist precept, many critics chose to regard it as such, and this created a great body of irrelevant argument.

One minister reminded readers that the Westminster Confession of Faith demands obedience to civil authorities because God "hath armed them with the power of the sword, for the defence and encouragement of them that are good, and for the punishment of evil-doers." And Dr. A. S. M. Nayar, rather more positively, suggested that in the face of mass peril, mass prayers would not be out of order.

No national daily paper has given so much space to this vitally necessary exercise of the mind.

reformers have given far too little consideration.

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I am therefore happy to inform our readers that a few poor are still with them, and that, by sparing a few coppers for the PN Fund, they will not only be staking a claim in the Elysian Fields, but will be rewarded here and now by being able to continue reading this excellent paper.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Dec. 30: £207 16s. 5d.

Total since Feb. 1: £1,652 14s. 1d.

Still needed: £847.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Northwood £1 1s., Driffield £1, N.1 £1, Kingston-on-Thames £1, Oxford £1, Swansea £1, Manchester 10s., O.A.P. 10s., A Happy Christmas 5s., Hampton 5s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

Ceylon Govt. faces schools' protest

ROMAN Catholic schools in Ceylon have obtained orders from magistrates restraining any persons from entering their premises.

This is one of the latest moves in a wave of unrest following the Ceylon Government's intention to take over from December 1 the management of all schools owned by religious denominations.

By way of protest, large numbers of parents, children, and others have been obstructing the process by occupying the buildings. On December 28 Dr. Charles de Silva, acting head of the Ceylon Cabinet, said in a broadcast that the police had been told to take firm action against any obstruction.

At an emergency Cabinet meeting on January 2, and following the claim for magistrates' injunctions, the Government decided to take over, without compensation, all school buildings and property, as well as the management, and plans additional legislation to this end.

In its statement, the Government indicated that 2,500 schools are involved.

South Africa's unwanted visitor takes a look

MR. HAMMARSKJOELD, the UN Secretary-General, arrived in Pretoria last Friday for talks with the South African Government on its apartheid policy.

His tour has been described by correspondents as a game of hide-and-seek, the seekers being the anti-apartheid demonstrators. No itinerary was published, and determined efforts were made by the official conducting parties to keep the visitor away from signs of dissenting opinion.

Africans had to be content with poster-waving and singing outside his hotels. At Cape Town, pickets displayed placards outside the building where he met the Council for Coloured Affairs (a Governmental advisory body, partly elected, partly nominated). At a dinner given in his honour by the Administrator of Cape Province, Mr. Hammarskjöld referred to the "provocative" position of South Africa in the perspective of the world of tomorrow.

The Liberal Party and the Congress Alliance, denied formal conference with Mr. Hammarskjöld, each delivered a memorandum to his Pretoria hotel on Sunday. They urged him to meet non-White groups, particularly ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, now under a Government ban confining him to his district in Natal for five years, and Robert Sobukwe, head of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, who is in prison for three years.

The Secretary-General's guide and host in the Cape over the weekend was Mr. Sauer, Minister of Lands, described as one of the Cabinet's least fervent devotees of apartheid.

The beginning of this week then saw Mr. Hammarskjöld in Eastern Pondoland, which has been the chief trouble area of Transkei Province since the introduction of

the Government's "tribal authorities" system. It is here that Africans have been in full revolt against the policies of Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. The Secretary-General met Government stooges, such as Chief Botha Sigcau, and looked around.

Official statements say that conditions in Pondoland are "absolutely normal," but emergency regulations are still in force in five principal centres, and strong military and police forces are occupying the territory.

After Mr. Hammarskjöld's two days in Pondoland he began the second stage of his discussions with Dr. Verwoerd and was expected back in New York this morning (Friday).

Impressions

The Prime Minister meanwhile appears to have shifted his ground. In place of his patronising attitude to the United Nations ("Should not the overcrowded United Nations give way to a small body of really responsible world nations?") he has said he was glad the Secretary-General was in South Africa where he could investigate and form his own impressions.

What does all this mean for South Africa? We were suggesting in these columns last week that Hammarskjöld's real opportunity was to bring home to Dr. Verwoerd that "there is a world outside in protest." This in itself is a significant advance: it is the beginnings of the crystallisation of world conscience into coherent patterns and powerful channels.

It is, however, an adjunct and not an alternative to opposition from inside the Union itself. Foreigners may withdraw

their support, their capital investment, their confidence, and even their apathy, but ultimately the Nationalist régime must be overthrown by the people of South Africa.

Assassination

Following the disastrous attempted assassination of the Prime Minister and the strengthening of troops and "police," there is not much doubt that this opposition has to contend with a Government which is consistently entrenching itself and seeking to make its position invulnerable. It is not invulnerable; its economic weaknesses have already been demonstrated.

The sure lesson of government by Sharpeville methods, however, is that new methods of protest have to be found in the Union. A reply in kind to the Saracen armoured car can only lead to the sort of blood bath we are all dreading and seeking to avert.

Shortly before he returned to South Africa to be relieved of his passport, Alan Paton, the writer and leading figure in the Liberal Party, was in London. At a press conference he was asked what future he saw in this struggle for human freedom. With enough pressure could the Union Government have a change of heart?

Note Alan Paton's reply. No, he insisted, Governments and similar institutions, unlike individuals, are not capable of changes of heart. The momentum and the collective nature of cabinets isolate them from the personal pressures which make possible the individual conversion or crisis of conscience.

If Hammarskjöld knows this, as he shows every sign of knowing, he must also be aware that his real mission on behalf of the United Nations has been not to try to

NEW

POLITICS

by

Christopher

Farley

patch up some sort of understanding whereby the shootings, the brutalities and the indignities are pushed out of the public eye. Rather it has been to serve notice on the Government that the perpetrators of racial discrimination almost everywhere else are in full retreat, and that the forces ranged against the Nationalist dream of apartheid are impossibly large.

It is for this reason that the UN Secretary-General has this week been the unwanted visitor.

NEXT WEEK IN PN

There will be more news—from the United States, of activities of the Committee for Non-violent Action; from India, of events during and after the War Resisters' International Conference; from Paris, of the men in jail for refusing military service in Algeria; and from many other parts of the world, news of war resistance, non-violent action and positive reconciliation.

Campaign for Peace . . .

892 square miles!

LAST week's accident at a US atomic reactor underlined the size and power of the military. The reactor is in a desert station—40 miles from Idaho Falls, Idaho—

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

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Cabinet's least fervent devotees of apartheid. The beginning of this week then saw Mr. Hammarskjöld in Eastern Pondoland, which has been the chief trouble area of Transkei Province since the introduction of

Campaign for Peace



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LAST week's accident at a US atomic reactor underlined the size and power of the military. The reactor is in a desert station—40 miles from Idaho Falls, Idaho—on a site occupying 892 square miles, according to a Reuter report.

(Reuters have since confirmed this figure with *Peace News*.)

Three Services technicians killed on the night of January 3 were operating a prototype of a small mobile unit that was being developed as a heat and power facility for armed forces in remote areas. The Atomic Energy Commission said after the explosion that there was a "high level of radiation in the immediate area of the reactor and reactor building."

The station employs 4,500 people by day. The next day they went to work as usual, though only in areas a mile or more from the scene of the explosion.

Progress for the boycott

THE Anti-Apartheid Movement in London has secured considerable support for its penny pledge campaign not to buy South African goods until apartheid ends.

Among signers of the pledge are Lord Altrincham, Frank Cousins, Hugh Gaitskell, Jo Grimond and Earl Russell.

The anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre will be commemorated in Trafalgar Square on March 19 by the South Africa United Front and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Direct action in Ceylon

A STATEMENT issued on Monday on behalf of the Federal Party of Ceylon said that the Government aimed to create a Sinhalese Buddhist theocratic state. "This it proposes to achieve by perpetrating mass genocide on the racial, linguistic and religious minorities by relentless persecution."

"So far as the Tamil-speaking people

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

are concerned, they are at the cross-roads of history and the instinct of self-preservation calls for drastic measures in keeping with the principle of non-violence, which is an article of faith with us no matter what sacrifices they entail."

The statement continued that it was the "sacred duty" of the Tamil-speaking people to resist the Government's language policy "to the fullest extent of their ability consistent with the rule of non-violence."

The Party is to take non-violent direct action and practise non-co-operation.

His faith in Civil Defence

"THE talk of military thinkers across the US" is how *Time* magazine describes a new book, *ON THERMONUCLEAR WAR*, by Herman Kahn.

Points made by this book include:

- too few men think about nuclear war seriously;
- the threat of nuclear attack may not be enough to deter Communist incursions;
- the capacity for Western wishful-thinking on military matters is almost unlimited;
- the US may find itself unwilling to accept a Soviet retaliatory blow, no matter what the provocation;
- the nuclear deterrent is waning.

Herman Kahn bases his thesis on the belief that nuclear war need not bring mutual annihilation. His faith is in Civil Defence. The deterrent will fail if Russia gets braced for nuclear attack, and the US does not.

Herman Kahn is a physicist, consultant

Committee for Non-violent Action; from India, of events during and after the War Resisters' International Conference; from Paris, of the men in jail for refusing military service in Algeria; and from many other parts of the world, news of war resistance, non-violent action and positive reconciliation.

for the AEC and the Office of Civil and Defence Mobilisation. *Time* describes him as senior physicist of the Air Force "think factory."

His book puts forward proposals which will, if implemented, he believes, reduce a possible 80,000,000 casualties to 20,000,000. He claims that Civil Defence training is compulsory in Russia. It is not now a question of who packs more punches, but of who can survive a knock-out blow.

Deterrence, he thinks, could be renewed and maintained through the Sixties by clear, realistic thinking—and substantial increases in "defence" spending. And even if deterrence fails, given his extended Civil Defence organisation, survival will be likely.



★
The US building industry, particularly in the South, will oppose the recent appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver as Federal Housing Administrator in the Kennedy Administration, suggest Senate sources quoted by *The New York Times* last Saturday. Not, it is understood, because Dr. Weaver is a Negro, but because he favours "open occupancy and non-discrimination in housing." The complaint is that any enforcement of non-discrimination in housing would drive builders away from Federal financing programmes and seriously damage the housing industry.

Anglo-Soviet negotiations in Moscow on cultural relations ended on Monday with a two-year agreement on visits, studies, entertainments and scientific exchanges. No progress was made in stopping the jamming of BBC broadcasts or securing the free sale of British newspapers and magazines in the Soviet Union.



THE MURDERED VILLAGE

By Austin Underwood

EIGHTEEN years ago the life of a village ended. Farmers were turned out of their farms, workers from their cottages, last orders were called in the pub. Army trucks rolled through the village and carted off the last to leave. The windows of the church were boarded up and the churchyard surrounded by a six-foot-high barbed-wire fence.

world war, and people were so busy singing "There'll always be an England" that they didn't notice that the people of Imber had become displaced persons.

Rights-of-way trodden by prehistoric men had boards erected on them "Roads closed by order of the Defence Regulations." The military had moved in. When the red flags were not flying the villagers were allowed to slip quickly back, with their official passes, to tend the graves. The dead were allowed to return to be buried. Once a year a church service was held at the church dedicated to the patron saint of cripples.

Displaced

Gradually the news was broken to the displaced: you will never go back. At this year's service the Vicar of Edington, a neighbouring village, said that the service might be the last. A decision had been



The village in question is Imber, on Salisbury Plain. It consists of pile upon pile of razed houses—only a few, such as the manor house, have survived the onslaught of the military. Top left: One of the roads leading to Imber. On January 22 a pilgrimage will emphasise the ending of the Defence Regulations on December 31, so making the "Road Closed" notices meaningless.

Photos: Austin Underwood.

Some Polish village under the Nazi heel? No. An English village called Imber. The Domesday village on Salisbury Plain. Under the tower of St. Giles on the hill generations of farmers with the same family name had ploughed, sowed and reaped for centuries.

Then the military came to Salisbury Plain. Thousands upon thousands of acres of fruitful land were engulfed, but Imber stood peacefully in its shadowed wooded valley while concrete and corrugated iron spread across one of the most unique archaeological areas of the British Isles. The hills of Salisbury Plain blasted and scarred, the War Department then turned its attention on Imber.

Gradually they bought all the land, except the church of St. Giles. Came the second

place records that a Mr. Dean of Imber was robbed on that spot by highwaymen in 1823. At that spot Mr. Sydney Dean will begin to reclaim the birthright taken from his father by the War Department.

There have been immediate responses to the call "Imber shall live!" Monica Hutchings, the West Country writer, and

restored to agriculture, and the village restored as a civil and ecclesiastical Parish of the County of Wiltshire.

We shall then proceed to Warminster and have invited representatives of local authorities to another meeting at which our purpose will be explained, and the grounds of our challenge that the War Department has

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Councillor Austin Underwood is well known to PN readers as photographer, reporter and writer. He is Chairman of the Southern Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and his loud-speaker van has become known to thousands of marchers, both locally and nationally, in recent years.

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had boards erected on them "Roads closed by order of the Defence Regulations." The military had moved in. When the red flags were not flying the villagers were allowed to slip quickly back, with their official passes, to tend the graves. The dead were allowed to return to be buried. Once a year a church service was held at the church dedicated to the patron saint of cripples.

Displaced

Gradually the news was broken to the displaced: you will never go back. At this year's service the Vicar of Edington, a neighbouring village, said that the service might be the last. A decision had been made to apply to take down the church and re-erect it at Warminster as a garrison church. The War Department had applied to the Ministry of Transport for an Order to close the roads through Imber permanently.

But the Defence Regulations have ended, and some of us are determined that Imber shall live. At the last meeting of the Amesbury Rural District Council we fought successfully for the council to decide—without dissent—to sustain an unqualified objection to the permanent closure of the roads. Other local authorities have registered their objections, although they are prepared to listen to "assurances" from the War Department, which the Ministry have said cannot be legal, to re-open the roads at a later date, should their present application go through.

Determined

We are determined to retrieve these rights-of-way. We are determined that the parish of Imber shall be restored. And so, having been through Imber so many times and seen both private and military hunts and shoots roaming at will across land which the War Department tells us is dangerous and cannot be farmed, we shall return on Sunday, January 22. The War Department has been officially notified of our intentions.

We shall begin by holding a meeting at the historic meeting place of old coach roads, St. Joan à Gores Cross. One of the displaced farmers, Mr. Sydney Dean, descendant of generations of Deans who, with other families, have farmed Imber for centuries, intends to go back to Imber, and will be supporting the movement we are initiating. A large stone at the meeting

The village in question is Imber, on Salisbury Plain. It consists of pile upon pile of razed houses—only a few, such as the manor house, have survived the onslaught of the military. Top left: One of the roads leading to Imber. On January 22 a pilgrimage will emphasise the ending of the Defence Regulations on December 31, so making the "Road Closed" notices meaningless.

Photos: Austin Underwood.

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There have been immediate responses to the call "Imber shall live!" Monica Hutchings, the West Country writer, and many others have responded with the hopes they have cherished over the years.

We shall assemble at Gores Cross on the road between West Lavington and Tilshead at 2.30 p.m., and after a short open-air meeting drive to Imber. There another meeting will be an act of solemn dedication not to rest our efforts until the area is fully

restored to agriculture, and the village restored as a civil and ecclesiastical Parish of the County of Wiltshire.

We shall then proceed to Warminster and have invited representatives of local authorities to another meeting at which our purpose will be explained, and the grounds of our challenge that the War Department has now no right to continue to keep the roads closed. We invite all interested people to join us.

Footnote: The Army's response to the announcement of these plans was that the demonstrators would "march at their own risk."

Nazi (jailed in '41) still in Spandau

A LETTER from Brian Bond to *The Guardian* printed on December 31 again raises the matter of the continued imprisonment in Spandau Prison, Berlin (and incidentally at enormous cost) of the last three Nazi war criminals. The prisoners at Spandau are Von Shirach (Nazi Lord Mayor of Vienna), Armaments Minister Speer and Rudolf Hess.

"Hess's plight is particularly shocking," writes Brian Bond. "Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick doubted his sanity in 1941, and said he had declined greatly by 1944. His fitness to stand trial at all was questionable. Recently he has made three pathetic suicide attempts.

REVENGE

"Conditions in Spandau have always suggested the motive of revenge. Until recently the prisoners were under a rule of absolute silence. They are still addressed by numbers.

"Is it still too early, more than 15 years after the end of hostilities (Hess has been in close confinement for 19 years) to give these men their freedom?"

A letter from E. F. G. Haig, printed on January 6, adds "... we ought to press for this not only as an act of mercy ... but also as some slight mitigation of our own national hypocrisy.

"Perhaps a small act of mercy, such as this release, might lead us on to consider the urgent claims of common humanity in our defence policies for today and the future."

Briefly

The International Commission of Jurists, meeting in Lagos, have adopted a resolution calling for an investigation into legal conditions in Africa relating to fundamental human rights. The resolution originally specified the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, but these references were expunged in favour of a resolution applicable to all Africa.



"King Kong," the all-African musical play, is to be presented in London by Jack Hilton at the Prince's on February 23. The cast of 50 will come from Johannesburg. The show is based on the true story of a Zulu heavy-weight boxer.

GOALS FOR WAR RESISTERS—II

A non-violent peace army?

This is the second half of Jayaprakash Narayan's opening address to the recent War Resisters' International conference in India. Last week we published his comments on the establishment of a non-violent social order. Here, in conclusion, he discusses non-violent national defence and the establishment of a peace army.

I SHOULD now like to turn to the external aspect of our task as I indicated at the outset. The relevant question that immediately arises is, while we are endeavouring internally to create the non-violent social order, what shall we do if a war were suddenly to overtake us?

Our unhesitating answer is and has been: we shall have nothing to do with such a war. Some of us would even oppose it. Thousands of pacifists and peace workers through the centuries have suffered on this account. They will gladly suffer again.

But, apart from being a heroic gesture and a limited influence on society, this type of war-resistance has not been very effective, nor is it likely to be so in the future. Are we then condemned to act as a small fanatic sect, cut off from the main stream of life of human society? I am sure no one present here wants to remain confined to a sect, no matter how noble a sect.

In that case, we must discover and apply on a social scale the non-violent methods of national defence. If a peace-loving nation like, let us say, Tibet is invaded by a powerful and ruthless army, the heroic witness of a handful of martyrs would not be sufficient answer. As things are today, no people believes that unarmed defence is a practical possibility.

Gandhi said that some nation, preferably India, must martyr itself so that the conviction might be driven home into the human heart that non-violent defence was not only possible, but was also the best defence. Who knows to what nation will the credit go of being the pioneer in this respect?

Vinoba has launched the Shanti Sena and Sarvodaya Patra movement in India precisely with the view of preparing the people of this country to discard arms and defend themselves non-violently. The movement

is still in its incipient stage and it is too early to say how it would develop. The fact that internal violence is by no means rare and the country has two aggressions to deal with—one in Kashmir and the other on the Indo-Tibet border—puts a burden on the Shanti Sena which it is wholly unprepared yet to carry.

I understand we shall be discussing this matter in some detail in the coming days. Discovery and propagation of the non-violent means of settling international disputes, rather than disarmament or non-resistance, are the need of the hour.

I should like to say a few words at this stage about the Chinese aggression against our Northern frontier. I do not think I need say much about our dispute with Pakistan. Happily, several items in dispute between India and Pakistan have been amicably settled, and in spite of some rather unfortunate statements that the President of Pakistan recently gave expression to, the relations between the two countries are friendlier today than at any other time. No doubt, the question of Kashmir looms very large on the horizon, but as India and Pakistan move closer, a settlement even of this serious problem is sure to be found.

The partition of the so-called sub-continent of India was artificial, and as the peoples of the two countries realised more and more that it was to the advantage of both to co-operate closely together, the dispute that has assumed such a gigantic proportion would be reduced to size and

in practice. The same is true for Mao Tse-tung.

But it is not of Tibet that I wished to speak; it is our border dispute with China. You will all agree that the attitude of the Government of India and the Prime Minister has been consistently free from even a trace of belligerence.

But so far a peaceful settlement has been found to be impossible. The official level talks have dragged on without producing any results. When the parties concerned fail to find a mutually acceptable settlement can the spirit and method of non-violence show the way? I should like to make two observations in this connection.

We have at present no world organisation of non-violence. There are no doubt bodies such as the War Resisters' International; but none of these bodies is comprehensive enough to cover and represent all the diverse voluntary forces working for a non-violent social order.

The UN is no doubt there, but it is a body made up of the armed states of the

world and itself relies for the enforcement of its authority on arms. A few months ago Salvador de Madariaga and I had made a joint statement at Berlin that the UN should have no armed forces at all at its command and it should deploy only an unarmed force made up of peace-loving volunteers from all parts of the world.

It would have been interesting to watch the action of such an unarmed UN force in the Congo. I have no doubt that the situation in that unfortunate land would have been quite different and the UN might have succeeded by now in its mission of peace.

Sceptics might doubt if sufficient number of volunteers would have been forthcoming to man the Peace Army of the UN. But I am sure that there would have been far more volunteers than would have been demanded. The UN then would really have become a true guarantee of world peace.

near future, however, of the UN disarming itself. The necessity, therefore, is further emphasised for some international body that might bring together the voluntary forces and efforts being made in the world on behalf of peace.

Such a body, or co-ordinated movement, might be strong enough to deal with an international dispute in the spirit of non-violence. Had such a world body or movement existed it might have put itself between India and China and by non-violent self-suffering and moral appeal found out a solution.

The present Conference might be a good forum to discuss the establishment of a world peoples' (as distinct from Governments') organisation dedicated to peace and the use of peaceful means for the solution of international disputes and conflicts.

I am aware of bodies that call themselves peace conferences, but these are mere propaganda platforms busily engaged in fanning the fires of the cold war. Not a peace conference, but a body of dedicated peace-volunteers is what the situation demands...

Arbitration open

In the absence of any such thing at present, I am led to make my second suggestion for the solution of our border dispute with China. The solution I have in mind is the same as used in the case of disputes between citizens within a nation.

At present there is no international law to which both India and China adhere and to which they can take their dispute for adjudication. But the course of arbitration is certainly open to them. Arbitration is universally regarded as an ideal method of settling private disputes. Why cannot the same method be applied to international disputes?

The Indo-China dispute, far better than the Kashmir dispute, is a fit subject for arbitration. There is no question of any surrender of sovereignty or of any choice by the people concerned, or any issue of policy. Both sides are claiming certain territories and an impartial umpire might hear them both and give his award in accordance to principles previously agreed upon between the parties.

If both India and China agreed to the principle of arbitration, it should not be difficult for them to agree upon the individual arbitrator, or arbitrators. In such a case, it can be only private individuals and not States or their officers, who can be entrusted with the arbitration.

A settlement between India and China on these lines would be a big step forward towards the creation of positive peace in the world, as distinct from the mere absence

By Jayaprakash Narayan

defence is a practical possibility.

Gandhi said that some nation, preferably India, must martyr itself so that the conviction might be driven home into the human heart that non-violent defence was not only possible, but was also the best defence. Who knows to what nation will the credit go of being the pioneer in this respect?

Vinoba has launched the Shanti Sena and Sarvodaya Patra movement in India precisely with the view of preparing the people of this country to discard arms and defend themselves non-violently. The movement



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The partition of the so-called sub-continent of India was artificial, and as the peoples of the two countries realised more and more that it was to the advantage of both to co-operate closely together, the dispute that has assumed such a gigantic proportion would be reduced to size and ultimately settled. The only solution, to my mind, therefore, of the Kashmir issue lies in the growing bonds between India and Pakistan. The passage of time is sure to help the process, and it might timely be said that time was on the side both of India and Pakistan.

It is otherwise in the case of the Indo-China dispute. As more time passes the more estranged these countries become from each other. Neither geography, nor history, nor economy, nor polity naturally drives India and China together, as in the case of Pakistan. Every attempt should therefore be made to settle the border issue as soon as possible.

Friend of China

Communists and their fellow-travellers have tried to paint me as an arch enemy of China. I am nothing of the sort; I am rather a friend of China and wish to see my country live on the friendliest terms with her. I have consistently advocated China's admission into the UN.

The reason why I took up the cause of Tibet was not because I was anti-China and anti-Communist, but because I was, and am, against colonialism and imperialism of every sort. I do not believe that Tibet is or ever was China, and I hold that the Tibetan people are as much entitled to freedom as the Indian people or the people of the Congo.

The fact that Russia and China built land empires, and not over-seas empires, should not blind us to the fact that the territory of both these countries represents the forcible absorption of many distinct nations who aspire even today to be independent, sovereign powers. The right to self-determination that Lenin gave to the nationalities enslaved by the Czars was ruthlessly denied

and should have been made up of peace-loving volunteers from all parts of the world.

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There seems to be no possibility in the

WHY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE?

By Bradford Lyttle

WHAT is necessary for international peace? Enlightened foreign policies. What makes foreign policy? Ultimately, public opinion.

How can public opinion be enlightened when the military and war industries each year pour tens of millions into propaganda to sustain the irrational faith the public has in military power? How can we have enlightened opinion when one out of every ten draws his income from military activity?

How can we have enlightened opinion when our schools teach children of all ages that our national military history is glorious and our churches, by and large, condone ultimately any horror in the name of national self defence?

It is the opinion of many of us that there is no way to offset these appalling obstacles to enlightening the public other than by resorting to the most extreme forms of dramatic moral action.

The stakes are high. If thermo-nuclear war comes our civilisation, probably our species, dies. Worse, every person who supports policies like the "deterrent," "massive retaliation," or "pre-emptive war," supports immoralities that pale the most ghastly atrocities of history. One Polaris submarine can cause destruction equal to 80 Hiroshimas. An H-bomb can turn a city into an incinerator which has not even the mercy of a gas chamber.

Civil disobedience is the ultimate, non-violent appeal we can make to the heads

of government. There is no question of any surrender of sovereignty or of any choice by the people concerned, or any issue of policy. Both sides are claiming certain territories and an impartial umpire might hear them both and give his award in accordance to principles previously agreed upon between the parties.

If both India and China agreed to the principle of arbitration, it should not be difficult for them to agree upon the individual arbitrator, or arbitrators. In such a case, it can be only private individuals and not States or their officers, who can be entrusted with the arbitration.

A settlement between India and China on these lines would be a big step forward towards the creation of positive peace in the world, as distinct from the mere absence of war.

and hearts of our countrymen. When we climb aboard Polaris submarines and risk our lives, this is saying "No!" to these machines and the policies they represent as loudly as "No" can be said. People who sit down before trucks that are building missile bases are offering their lives that the missiles will not be installed and used.

Such action has ever moved people. It generated the power that irresistibly built the early Christian Church, the Protestant Reformation, and, in our time, the Gandhian movement. If there is any form of action that can reach the minds of the world's people with the ideas that may save their souls and beings and liberty—the ideas of non-violence, the practical philosophy of truth and love—it is that action which risks prison, injury and death for these ideas.

People are instinctively attracted to direct action involving civil disobedience. But as they are instinctively attracted, so they may become intellectually repelled, for they see how committing themselves to this form of action will upset and revolutionise their lives.

These are times when we should be upset and revolutionised. If civil disobedience reaches people with the truth and changes them so that they can act upon it, when other methods fail, then, before God, and if we have the courage, we must use it.

PROGRESS ON THE ASWAN DAM

By Irene Beeson

IN January of last year President Nasser laid the foundation stone and detonated the first charge of dynamite in the construction of the High Aswan Dam.

"We are going ahead with the High Aswan Dam," President Nasser said, "in spite of all obstacles put in our way, so as to industrialise our country, develop our agriculture, and thus raise the standard of living of our people."

At a press conference for foreign press and radio correspondents, Mr. Moussa Arafa, the Egyptian Minister of Public Works, stated recently that work had been progressing satisfactorily and according to schedule since that date.

"Disquieting reports have recently appeared in the press," he said, "in an attempt to create an atmosphere of distrust in the success of this great project and in the friendly co-operation between the UAR and the Soviet Union. I feel it is time," he added, "I gave you a first hand account of how things stand at present."

The exposé that followed was brief, factual and enlivened with occasional touches of humour.

To doubts expressed in the Western press concerning the safety of the project, Mr. Arafa replied by quoting an extract from the report of the Board of National Con-

sultants: "The dam is as safe as the safest among the existing earth and rock-fill dams resting on sediments," and from the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: "The project is technically sound. Its reservoir capacity is the optimum to enable the maximum volume of the Nile waters to be made usable."

The Minister added with a smile: "And I suppose we all know that when the World Bank makes a statement they mean every word of it."

Mr. Arafa's account left no room for doubt or misgivings and was followed by an announcement that a trip was being organised so that foreign correspondents might have a chance to see this for themselves.

Stressing the fact that nothing had been left to chance in the technical and economic studies of the Dam project, Mr. Arafa said that "every minute detail had been carefully examined."

By the end of December half a million tons of rock were to have been blasted from the diversion canal which is scheduled to be completed by 1963.

The cofferdam will be completed and ready for storing water after the autumn of 1965. It will provide extra storage for four billion cubic metres in 1965, rising to eight billions in 1967. This additional storage will be used in converting about 700,000 acres of land at present yielding



one crop a year to a perennial system with two or more crops a year and in reclaiming 1,000,000 acres of barren land.

Out of 330 technicians at present working at Aswan, 65 are Russians (35 engineers and 30 technicians). "I feel it is my duty," the Minister stated, "to say that this mission of Soviet experts is working in perfect harmony with their Arab colleagues, in a cordial atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and full co-operation."

Referring to his visit to Moscow, last August, Mr. Arafa said that "the Soviet side showed a keen interest and desire to collaborate with the Arabs and thus an agreement was concluded and signed on August 27."

Under this new agreement the Soviet Union extended a further loan of 900,000,000 rubles (about E £78,000,000) bringing the total Soviet loan for the project to E £113,000,000. This covers all foreign currency requirements for the execution of the High Dam.

These bodies of civilian victims of the Anglo-French bombing of Port Said were the end product of the Aswan Dam crisis earlier that year.

income will be increased by E £230,000,000 yearly.

With regard to Soviet material used in the construction of the Dam, Mr. Arafa stated that 10,000 tons had been delivered up to date.

The Minister stressed the fact that both the 1958 and 1960 agreements with the Soviet Union for economic and technical aid to the UAR were based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, full respect for the national dignity and sovereignty of both countries.

One came away from the conference wondering whether the foreign press was really ill-informed about the Aswan Dam project (one correspondent did submit the incredible question "The Aswan Dam, what is it?") or whether the recent

Nasser, Israel and the pawns

THE State of Israel did not expel "... nearly one million Arabs from their homes in 1948 before the first Palestinian war" as suggested in Irene Beeson's article (PN, December 30). The Arabs had revolted against Jewish immigration both violently and non-violently since 1936 for understandable reasons; in between these revolts, largely influenced by the outside Arab world and often discreetly aided by British arms and espionage, Arab and Jew lived side by side without friction and with many personal friendships and considerable

Arab refugees; a blot indeed on the copy book of a new State so largely populated by ex-refugees from Central Europe.

It was after that, with appalling conditions in these frontier camps, that the hate-campaign and brain-washing really flourished and these victims of war and power politics really did become the long-suffering pawns of Middle East politics. Nasser and other Arab leaders could have alleviated their position within a few months if they had chosen to do so.

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The League of Arab States met in 1947 and decided to resist by force the establishment of a Jewish State as recommended then by the United Nations General Assembly. By March, 1948, the Arab-Jewish fighting was open and bitter; even then many Arabs and Jews were still working together in the villages. On May 15 the State of Israel was declared unilaterally and the Arabs sent in their armies.

By this time the Israeli regarded the Arab domiciled in "his" country as the Enemy and a threat to security—war had arrived. Meanwhile Arab brothers from the neighbouring states invaded Palestine on a passionate crusade to save their "long-suffering brethren from persecution"; they urged the Arabs living there to stay in Israel to fight, or to get out at once, and wait near the frontiers until the country had been "liberated" and they could return as victors to their homes.

The result of these two armed pressures against the Arab from without and within was the chaotic and tragic rush over the frontiers rendering some 650,000 Palestinian

Arab refugees; a blot indeed on the copy book of a new State so largely populated by ex-refugees from Central Europe.

It was after that, with appalling conditions in these frontier camps, that the hate-campaign and brain-washing really flourished and these victims of war and power politics really did become the long-suffering pawns of Middle East politics. Nasser and other Arab leaders could have alleviated their position within a few months if they had chosen to do so.

The tragedy is that Israel does not now make amends and seize the opportunity of calling Nasser's bluff and fanaticism by offering back at once protection, land and status to all Arabs who had to flee. The Israeli may think that to re-absorb nearly a million Arabs is courting future disaster, but it would be a far less great risk than to leave them outside, victims of propaganda, disease and poverty.

This practical gesture would work miracles among all Arabs as well as face Nasser with his own conscience as to whether he is a humanitarian or just a man playing a nasty game of exploitation. Only Israel can make the first step, and it is with her immediate neighbours she should foster friendship rather than with the unreliable politics of the Western Powers.—**MYRTLE SOLOMON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.**

FALL-OUT

Bland as incipient tumours, public men

Beam at us wisely out of the television;

Like Pharaoh's retinue we shall be buried with them,

And our children and children's children and hope of children.

Keep calm! they say. These symptoms of disaster

Are benign. So hope, pretend, leave be,

Waiting in dignified apathy to be gassed

By the innocent wind, or poisoned by the sea.

Onward Christian crackpots who proclaim

Against the need to strew this lethal leaven:

The quality of Murder is not strained

By dropping with the gentle rain from heaven!

BRIAN FARRINGTON.

Referring to his visit to Moscow, last August, Mr. Arafat said that "the Soviet side showed a keen interest and desire to collaborate with the Arabs and thus an agreement was concluded and signed on August 27."

Under this new agreement the Soviet Union extended a further loan of 900,000,000 rubles (about E £78,000,000) bringing the total Soviet loan for the project to E £113,000,000. This covers all foreign currency requirements for the execution of the High Dam.

TOTAL COST

The total cost of the Dam, hydro-electric power station (with a power of 2,100,000 k.w.) and projects depending on the High Dam—basin conversion, land reclamation, indemnities—will amount to E £400,000,000. The dam will be completed in its final profile in 1968.

In reply to questions the Minister said that the increase and development in agricultural production would be considerable and would keep pace with the growth of the population. The increase in electric power supplies would raise the standard of living appreciably.

The area of arable land in the Southern Province will be increased by 30 per cent and the electric power produced will be used in industry.

When the project is completed the national

construction of the Dam, Mr. Arafat stated that 10,000 tons had been delivered up to date.

The Minister stressed the fact that both the 1958 and 1960 agreements with the Soviet Union for economic and technical aid to the UAR were based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, full respect for the national dignity and sovereignty of both countries.

One came away from the conference wondering whether the foreign press was really ill-informed about the Aswan Dam project (one correspondent did submit the incredible question "The Aswan Dam, what is it?") or whether the recent campaign was meant to cover up a feeling of irritation and hurt pride at the opportunity which the West lost to finance it.

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FRANCE PREPARING FOR COLLAPSE OF THE

'DETERRENT' THEORY

By Irene Beeson



BRIEFLY

The University of Georgia must admit two Negro students, the US Federal District Court ruled last Friday. Judge William A. Bootle also enjoined the University from further discrimination on grounds of colour. He found that the two plaintiffs

THIS was the scene near Regane in the Sahara recently, when the French Government tested its third nuclear device. The figures are all

What else can this picture mean?

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No new Coloured members are to be accepted by Wolverhampton's West End Working Men's Club it has been decided by members' majority opinion. "It is the same as if you bring a Coloured man home," said the Secretary, "and your wife says that she would prefer that he didn't stay." The Steward's comment: "I have not the foggiest idea what it is all about. They are all gentlemen to me."

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THIS was the scene near Regane in the Sahara recently, when the French Government tested its third nuclear device. The figures are all dummies wearing protective clothing. They were put there to test how close from the epicentre of a nuclear explosion troops might survive heat flash

and ionizing radiation. The information obtained from the dummies and from animals tethered out in the danger area is being used to prepare new strategies for military forces in a nuclear war. In other words, the de Gaulle Government anticipates the breakdown of the "deterrent" theory and the use of these weapons. It is therefore trying to prepare itself for that day.

30,000 SCHOOLBOYS SEE 'LIFE'

"WE are tired of the Devil having all the best tunes," said Jack Mongar, scientific organiser of the "Science for Life" stand at the National Schoolboys Own Exhibition at Olympia.

"Did you have a good breakfast today?" visitors were asked by the voice of Alex Comfort. "Two-thirds of the world is short of food because the research and energy which could feed hungry people are being squandered in playing soldiers."

More than 30,000 people heard the "best tunes" done well on behalf of Life, not Death, and went away sobered but excited by the questions raised. At first the ages of the boys who flocked through the stand seemed lower than the organisers had expected, but they brought their parents too; and in the second week science masters brought organised parties. In an opinion poll held among the visitors overwhelming support was expressed for the need of saying these things. Even people in the forces, or engaged in weapons production, showed a wistful sympathy.

The press afforded good and encouraging coverage, as did the BBC Overseas Service. A permanent scientific exhibition in Paris wants details, and *The Times Educational Supplement* means to comment.

No punches were pulled. "Rockets can explore the universe" was another of Alex Comfort's recorded phrases murmuring into the ears of those who passed through the exhibit, "or fools can put nuclear warheads in them to destroy men, women, children and the homes of people like us. Which do you choose? Getting science out of the

hands of those who are misusing it, and back on the side of man, is the biggest adventure of all time."

The "Science for Life" exhibition was organised by the Friends Peace Committee, with the help of War on Want and other concerned bodies.

DETERRENT OR DEFENCE

B. H. Liddell Hart

JOHN F. KENNEDY said in
The Saturday Review

"Behind this theme is a judgement that responsible leaders in the West will not and should not deal with limited aggression by unlimited weapons whose use could only be mutually suicidal . . .

I share Captain Hart's judgement."

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Fortnight campaign planned for summer

PREPARATIONS for the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign planned for

What else can this picture mean?

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